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ABSTRACT

The paper introduces a 3-level paradigm for community assessment. First, Raza communities are conceptualized as belonging to three phases--culturally homogeneous, culturally in transition, and culturally heterogeneous. Each phase is determined by the proximity of the cities' "barrios" to the home country (Mexico, Puerto Rico, Central America) and by those pockets that have developed in some of the larger cities where Raza people can come in and be in a totally Latino environment. Further analysis develops Tonnes and Nisbet's concept of "gemeinschaft" (cultural homogeneity) and "gesellschaft" (acculturation), or the movement from an autonomous community to one that is dependent on outside services, and the implications this has for meaningful intervention. Second, a causal model of community development that assumes a common disenfranchisement of the Raza is introduced. Using basic path analysis, a cause and effect relationship is conceptualized. This relationship may take either a functional or dysfunctional path based on the "barrio's" experiences with the dominant system and the efficacy of developing grass-roots leadership along those lines. Last, the three-cultural phases are combined with the functional developmental community stages, and the possible areas of leadership action are analyzed with a matrix. The paper addresses issues of cultural pluralism, concepts about communities, and such concepts as community "sociotherapy", anomie, political alienation, empowerment and Raza impact on social problems. (Author/NQ)

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF LA RAZA COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP AND ITS IMPACT ON SOCIAL PROBLEMS -- A CAUSAL MODEL

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Abstract

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The dearth of literature on community organizing in Raza communities continues to befuddle community organizers by increasing the stereotypes and limiting the effectiveness of organizers in being able to identify significant indicators that can help in developing meaningful intervention strategies. The continued deprivation of Raza communities psychologically, socially, economically and politically underline the need for an analytical handle on the situation that will give change agents some basic understanding of the problems.'

This paper introduces a three-level paradigm for community assessment: (1) Raza communities are conce ptualized as belonging to three phases -- culturally homogenious, culturally in transition, and culturally heterogenious -- where each phase is determined by the proximity of the cities' barrios to the home country (Mexico, Puerto Rico, Central America), but also those pockets that have developed in some of the larger cities where Raza people can come in and be in a totally Latino environment; further analysis develops Tonnes and Nisbet's concept of gemeinschaft and gesellschaft, or the movement from an autonomous community to a community that is dependent on outside services and the implications this has for meaningful intervention; (2) a causal model of community development is introduced that assumes a common disenfranchisement of the Raza and I further conceptualize a cause and effect relationship, with basic path analysis, that may take either a functional or dysfunctional

path based on the barrios' experiences with the dominant system and the efficacy of developing grass-roots leadership along those lines; (3) this section combines the three-cultural phases with the functional developmental community stages and analyzes the possible areas of leadership action within a matrix.

The paper adresses issues of cultural pluralism, concepts about communities and such concepts as Martin Rein's community "sociotherapy," anomie, political alienation, empowerment and Raza impact on social problems.

Introduction

Community organizers, political pundits and social scientists have too often berated the Raza[1] community in this country for its lack of leadership and ineffectuality in dealing with social problems. Rather than looking at the myriad of social, psychological and structural factors that have held Raza people back, they have too easily embraced such shibboleths as the Lewis "culture of poverty" syndrome to explain their perceptions of the lack of advancement of La Raza. Little introspection is needed to give meaning to the reasons why Raza people continue to be amongsts the lowest on the socio economic ladder.

The patterns that have emerged throughout the years are more than obvious: this country is not a melting pot, and, to survive -- not to mention succeed -- the dominant culture mandates that La Raza learn to speak, write and act American. In short, there is an insidious but all too real relationship between being identified as "anglo", or, at least, being accepted by the majority culture with the realization that the more one's cultural heritage is openly or visibly identified, the fewer the economic, social and political rewards one will obtain. This ironic tension is not without its psychological toll in the barrios which in turn impact community dynamics.[2]

This paper introduces the reader to the dynamics of cultural socialization and its bearing on community organizing, leadership, and, finally, a causal model of community assessment is introduced that has a direct influence on the Raza community leadership within a functional and dysfunctional path. Culture plays an intimate

role in the dynamics of community organizing and politics and the causal model placed over the cultural socialization model helps us in analyzing the possibilities of action within various communities.

Leadership and La Raza

This writer's definition of leadership uses Glenn D. Paige's conceptualizations because its variables are not only broad in their application, but also because, by the addition of "culture" as a variable one gets a model that is structurally as well as psycho-socially efficacious. The indicators "affect," "effect," "taskability," "cognition," and "instrumentality," allows us to focus in on what Paige calls behavior that is either singular or aggregative according to purpose. His model takes into consideration personality, role, organization, task, values and setting which, as they interact, lead to political behavior and that level of activity may affect some community changes.[3]

The addition of culture as a variable is introduced in an expanded way that is not restricted by personality and role definitions. This writer's definition of culture is taken from Allison Davis.

> . . . The basic social habits, emotions and values of any group of people. From the point of view of the individual, culture may be objectively defined as all that behavior which he has learned in conformity with the standards of some group. This group may be his family, his play associates, his colleagues in work, his same-sex companions, his religious sect, his political party, or all of these groups together.[4]

By introducing a dynamic element into a definition of culture, we get a flux that cannot but be influenced by imputs from a myriad of sources. These dynamics not only help to shape the cultural identification, but it also assumes that depending on the proximity of the individual to the home country -- be it by migrants or immigrants -- the role of the leader will be defined uniquely for that particular barrio.

Raza Culture and Its Community Phases

One of the sustaining factors of Raza culture in the United States is its proximity to cities in Mexico, Puerto Rico and Central America. These groups have maintained a stateside culture at levels commensurate with the home country. Cuba, within unique political circumstances has done likewise. Those areas of this country that are not within geographical proximity to the home country have also been influenced by the identification of certain sections of some cities as being a haven for the people of that Latin American country. New York's Spanish Harlem, the Cuban section of Miami, the Puerto Rican and Chicano sections of Chicago and Detroit, the Mission District of San Francisco, East Los Angeles and the many towns bordering Mexico are examples of this situation. The roles played by culture have unique significance and implications for community social workers and organizers as well as affecting the impact indigenous leaders have on social

problems. Cesar Chevez in California, Reyes Lopez Tijerina in New Mexico, Rudolfo "Corky" Gonzalez in Colorado and the gang turned social activists--the Young Lords -- in New York and Chicago have demonstrated the different styles of leadership that are possible within a cultural and political context.

To facilitate the development of an analytical framework useful to organizers in assessing the level of cultural activity within a community and its impact on leadership development, the writer introduces a three-phase stage of cultural diversity that is evident in Raza communities and has consequencies in the ways leadership is identified within a community and the potential success rates for impacting problem areas. The writer is aware that there is no one definition for what makes up a Raza community. Certain indicators, however, may be identified that serve as sign posts helping to identify factors which serve as a handle in understanding the dynamics of the barrio. Pantoja, Perry and Blourock define community as:

> . . . A community is a group of people who come together in order that they create the processes, the institutions and relationships that function to meet their needs as they define them. The binding elements may include the locality, the biological and social characteristics; or the felt and experienced social needs and circumstances.[5]

The inherent dynamics of this definition serves as the first stage of the model being conceptualized as a three-phase cultural process. Additionally, the model mirrors what the writer thinks is a necessary re-introduction of Tönnes late 19th century work Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft.[6] The two-stages of community Tönnes described and further defined by Nisbet are important to consider because the writer believes it has direct implications and bearing on the concept of community for Raza people. The situation is

perceived as having significant bearing on the definition one gives a community and the implications one deduces from the community structure.

Phase I. Cultural Homogeneity - (Gemeinschaft). As much as any culture can be homogeneous, it occurs within this phase. The Raza culture is rich and culturally vibrant. Like the traditional gemeinschaft communities it is, to an extent, a horizontal community, with its activities being maintained within the context of community service networks -- social, economic, political and religious -- to name but a few. There is a reliance on the extended family and other intra-support systems. Although many people work outside of it, its general welfare is internal with very little dependence on outside systems.

The steady influx of newcomers keeps the community cultural heritage alive. There is very little "americanization." Some of the outward signs of these communities are the predominant use of language throughout the entire community other than English. Signs are in Spanish, non-traditional religious centers like the Spiritualists and Pentacostals thrive, social and fraternal groups that once functioned in the homeland also function in the barrio. The extended family is predominant with regular replenishment from the home country, and the multi-family residence is common. There is defference to los viejitos, (the elders), and personalismo (leadership by personality and family name rather than position), is a common method of decision-making. Cultural activities revolve around patron saints' days, the day of the founding of their home town, and the independence day of their country. The social "coming out" event for the fifteen-year old daughter or son is also

a significant event. The compradazgo system (godfather) is very active with closely guarded entry systems.

The people talk about their ills in terms of curanderismo (folk medicine), and such illnesses as susto (fright), mal de ojo (evil eye) and espanto (nightmare). Botánicas (stores selling herbs and artifacts used in faith healing) abound.

The physical appearance of the community is also unique: it abounds with bodegas (mon and pop stores that serve as an intregal part of the social institution in the barrio by coordinating the latest gossip, lending money, credit, selling cigarettes individually, or, as a place to kill time by playing dominoes).

The majority of the employed are men whose jobs are predominantly entry-level positions.

Phase II, Cultural Transition - (Gemeinschaft→Gesellschaft). Phase II Raza barrios begin showing an attrition in the qualities and characteristics identified in Phase I. This attrition is due, in part, to the communities' people being in the United States longer, as well as having an improved economic situation affording the inhabitants mobility that results in the creation of a "transition" zone. There is bilingualism, many of the unique customs have been abandoned -- partly out of expediency and partly due to a lack of support systems, the people, who are mainly first and second generation in the United States, are more willing to accept and participate in the social events and institutions that are more anglo-oriented. This confidence in participation comes both from the mobility but also the bilingualism that permits the people a differnt identification, one that is less wrought with xenophobia. The black Raza people may begin identifying with the Afro-

Americans, or the lighter complexioned Raza can more easily meld into the dominant system eschewing their origins possibly because the stigma of being different is too great to bear. Thus Thanksgiving comes into the picture and the Three Camels of Latin American are put in a drawer in favor of the Santa Claus.

The physical manifestation of this phenomenon is that not only are the store signs mixed Spanish and English, but one also sees the community transition in the way the community people begin their exodus and accomodate to new neighborhoods. There are fewer fraternal, social and religious functions, and the men have better than entry-level employment, with the women and their daughters also working to help support the family.

The reliance on basic mutual support systems have eroded to a large extent. Cultural identification and values are constantly challenged mainly by the young people because they have seen the results of leaving the barrio with its rewards. The barrio transitional communities are moving away from the horizontal towards the vertical; from gemeinschaft to gesellschaft.

Phase III, Cultural Heterogeneity and Acculturation - (Gesellschaft. Phase III is distinguish by very little feeling of community. There are no distinguishing characteristics that help to identify a community as culturally Raza. Maybe a fourth phase of the model can be that of assimilation, but it is the position of the writer that only in rare cases can Raza totally assimilate into the dominant culture and become anonymous. The best examples of these groups are the very fair Latin Americans who pronounce their names in an anglo way, or those fair Latin Americans that have German, Northern Italian or other Western European forefathers.[7]

This community is representative of Raza that have been living in the United States for generations and have lost their language, given up most of their cultural activities and have acculturated to such a degree that they are difficult to distinguish from their anglo neighbors. If they happen to be Afro-Latin as is the case in Latin American countries with a large black population, their blackness is predominant, and their actions, language and other life styles help in identifying them as Afro-Americans, rather than Raza Black.

In this phase, all the physical and cultural manifestations of the culture are absent, and there is a total loss of cultural uniqueness. Some of the people may indeed identify themselves as Mexicans, Columbians, Panamanians, Puerto Ricans, Argentinians, etc., but their identification may be seen as a quixotic one rather than realistic since they act no different than the dominaht culture people. Although this generalization -- like any other commentary-on culture -- is not always the case, we cannot ignore the process of acculturation and the pressures born to bear for adhereing to standarized traditions.

The pressures of careers also make some individuals give up their parents and grand parents' traditions possibly because they are time consuming, or make the offspring feel uncomfortable because it identifies them within a cultural context which is perceived as being a limiting social role to play. The cultural chauvinism that causes these attitudes to develop are too numerious to mention within the context of this paper.

This phase is the most successful in employment. They are, by and large, the doctors, lawyers, professors, and community leaders.

Needless to say, there are always exceptions, but they are the exceptions.

The transition from gemeinschaft to gesellschaft is complete. There are now formal boundaries, people relate predominately by rules and regulations that lie outside of their communities. Not that the two earlier phases did not relate to these same sanctions, but they did so indirectly, and, for some people, were not even aware of them because they had spokespersons. In the gesellschaft, there is an over-reliance on the outside systems because, after all, they pay their salaries as well as offering the people the opportunity to board the escalator towards better possibilities as they see them.

A Causal Model for Leadership Development and Intervention

Our definition of community assumes cultural movement based on inputs and outputs as well as structural linkages between interest groups, kinship groups and economic groups. The cultural socialization process of the United States is such that Raza people are in constant friction with forces that serve to redefine the cultural value base of the people.

To understand the efficacy of the second, or causal model, it has to be understood that, traditionally, this country has been a hostile place to subordinate groups and Social Darwinism, Manifest Destiny and its ilk gave credence to the melting pot that refused to meld divergent groups. In a seminal passage Gaitano

Mosca wrote:

> In all societies that are very meagerly developed and have attained the dawnings of civilization, down to the most advanced and powerful societies, two classes of people appear -- a class that rules and a class that is ruled. The first class, always the less numerious, performs all political functions, monopolizes power and anjoys the advantages that power brings, whereas the second, the more numerious, is directed and controlled by the first. . . 8

It is within this context that Raza live. The communities continue to be disenfranchised depending on the level of political development and involvement of the particular barrio and the cultural phase it finds itself in. The development, unfortunately, has been less than enough. Our model introduces community organizers a context within which to assess the level (or lack of it) of leadership development within the barrios and the potential for impacting social problems. The model assumes a causal relationship amongsts the various stages presented. There are two paths, A, the functional path and B, the dysfunctional path. The dynamics in communities are structured within a causal framework with a basic form of path analysis because it helps in identifying and analyzing the cause and effect at different points and stages of the community assessment. Blalock has written that in developing a causal model one has to be aware because "causality can never be verified empirically."[9] This caveat's well-heeded, for we are not assuming that there can be an empirical verification other than those outward manifestations of barrio cultural phases that offer an organizer thematic control over his analysis, but does not assume a cultural steadiness within each phase, for, although parameters have been established, they are to serve only as a conceptual handle, and not as the sine qua non for that community.

A causal model, additionally, helps us to appreciate the dynamic properties of a community within a closed system.

> . . . if one is to make headway, either in terms of theoretical deductions or empirical tests, he must assume that the theoretical system is closed in some sense. . . it must be assumed that populations are closed, if one wishes to use sample or population data for verification purposes.[10]

This closed system is not in contradiction with the three-phase cultural dynamics. The closed community concept assumes that each phase may be conceptualized as having limitations that prevent a group in a particular phase to move towards another phase. And, since our definition of community stresses constant change based on clusters of people around an interest and cultural group, and since that group and time period in the community's assessment has definite psycho-social indicators with concomitant physical characteristics, one has to assume that those are the community parameters for that moment in time -- thus a closed system.

The model introduced in Figure 1 assumes that Raza communities are closed systems that have been disenfranchised because of racism, economic and social exploitation, elitism and xenophobia, to name but a few. Depending on the particular community, different stages take place in reaction to stimuli from within and without the community. These stages may be thwarted and the cause and effect relationship of the stages may cross over from Path A to B and vice-versa.

Path A begins with the reality that Raza people have not only been victims of oppression, but they have also been systematically

eliminated from the mainstream of political and economic self-determination.

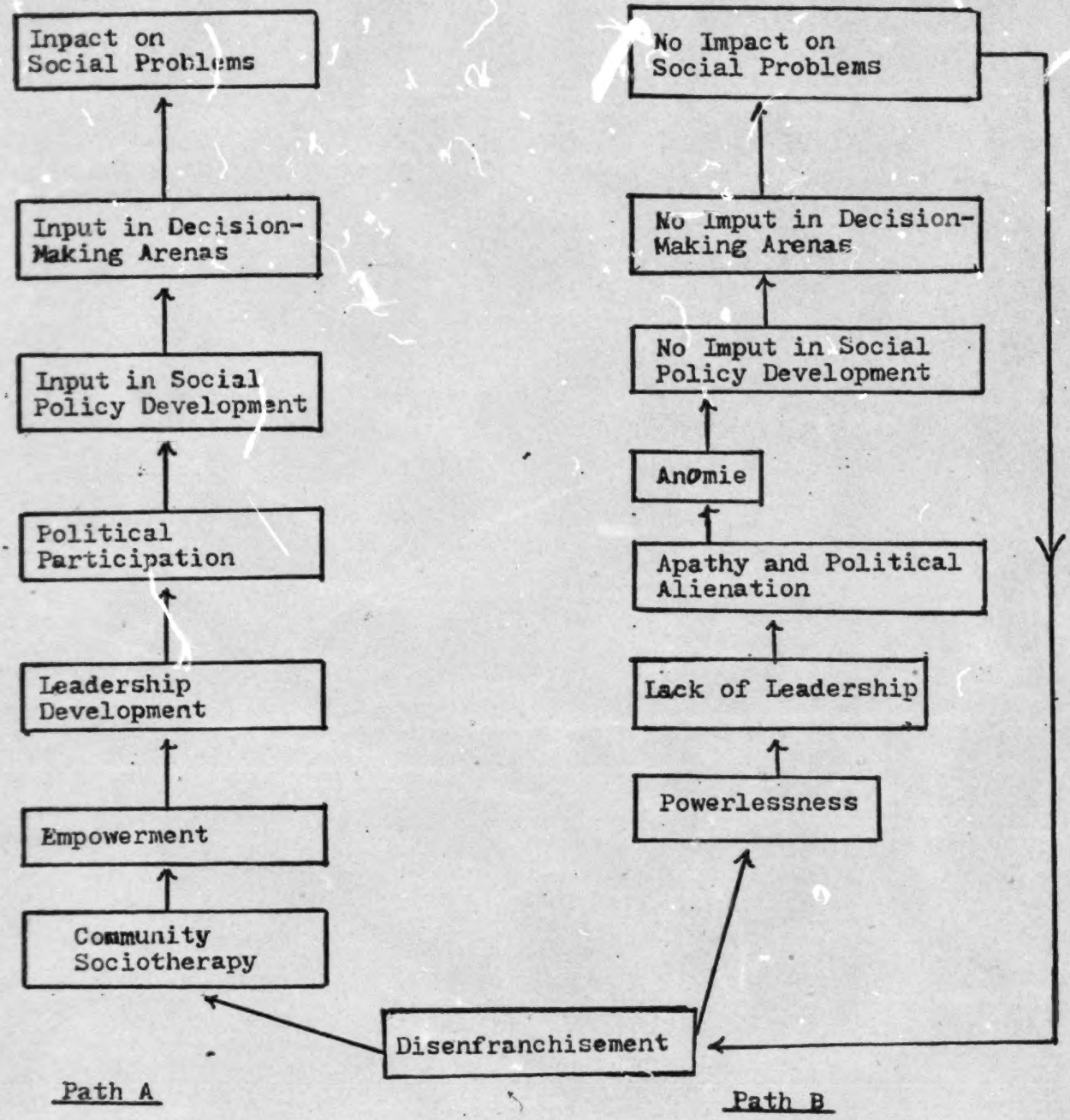

Figure 1

Leadership Development and Its Impact on Community Social Problem -- A Causal Model

Disenfranchisement leads to community sociotherapy. Rein defines it as

> . . . the belief system which holds that such processes as organizing groups for self-help, protest, access to community facilities, or even revolution, can create a transformation of the individual personality. Participation in social action is viewed as a socio-therapeutic tool.[11]

With the advent of sociotherapy, the model introduces the variable of empowerment. Once the individual's socio-political worth is realized, a transformation occurs whereby the cause and effect relationship socializes him towards a sense of political efficacy and control over his destiny. What is important to remember about this stage of the model is that the community person may not have actual power but the potential is there, for empowerment raises the person's sense of political efficacy.

Empowerment leads to leadership development. In addition to the requisites introduced earlier, leadership is defined as those individuals that are most central to decision-making within the barrio, and have the greatest impact on the resources in the community. The resources are not only influence, but what Dahl calls pyramiding,[12] or the way Raza leadership activate their resources to bear upon a problem area.

Leadership development is not synonymous with the next stage -- political participation. While leadership development identifies leaders within the community, it does not assume a natural progression towards political involvement. Political participation is seen as a separate variable because not only personal qualities and traits, but institutional commitment and the active participation of a larger support system are required.

The Raza leader finds himself next in the imput in social policy development stage. This is accomplished by collaborating with concerned citizens, other leaders and politicians and a platform is developed expressing the concerns of the barrio. This level of imput does not necessarily have to be broad, for it is the position of the writer that even a small effort in a particular district is enough to begin impacting other districts, for the symbolic actions will result in overlaps into other issue areas.

The next variable, input within a decision making arena, takes into consideration the fact that the leader may have won an election, been appointed to a policy-making board or commission, or, have such a large constituency that the non-Raza decision-makers have to contend with this force and include him at some level of deciaion-making.

The final variable of Path A, impact on social problems, assumes that after political forces, resources and power bases have been mobilized, certain corrective steps will be taken to alleviate the existing social injustices, be they unemployment, housing, education or the improper delivery of mental health services. What has to be made clear about this causal model is that any one element cannot occur without the preceeding variable.

Path A assumed that the social system of the barrio operates in a functional and psychologically dynamic manner. The socialization of one variable influences the movement towards the next development. And, like any dynamic system we also have to assume that there is a possibility of the cause and effect relationships being totally dysfunctional; one problem will lead to another and thereby

compounding the cycle which helps to maintain the disenfranchisement, and that cause leads to powerlessness, or the inability of the barrio, due to the many constraints, to effect any meaningful social change as measured by lack of potential or actual power and the control over resources.

Powerlessness leads to lack of leadership, which proceeds to create apathy and political alienation. Apathy is especially significant as a variable for it is here where we see the side-effects of disenfranchisement and oppression. The Raza has been cut off from traditional community institutions and expectations in regards to quality of life. The schools, the political structure, the social activities and even the churches have been so altered and controlled by outside forces that they play a significant part in the alienation of the community. Political alientaion is the natural extension of apathy. It is defined as the

> . ...combination of several distinct feelings: distrust of government and politicians, a sense of the meaninglessness of electoral politics and political choices, and personal powerlessness to influence or change the course of American political life.[13]

Anomie, or the feeling of rootlessness and normlessness identified by Durkheim as being on the increase is even more pronounced in the barrios. The Raza comes to the United States to better its economic and social position only to find itself ostrasized by color, accents, or the fact that they do not speak any English. Their children are suspended from school because they do not follow orders they cannot understand, and are made fun of by the dominant societies' children and adults because they eat foods that appear

strange or different to the majority culture. Men and women who worked as doctors, lawyers, bookkeepers, teachers, social workers and skilled craftsmen find that they cannot practice their professions because of rules and regulations that serve as but another gatekeeper function of the dominant society. Women who were able, and happy, staying at home caring for their children have been required to go to work at menial jobs to help support a family that came to the United States because it thought it would have an opportunity to improve its economic situation. Black Raza children are treated poorly both by the dominant anglos and the Afro American blacks because --although they may look the same --' are culturally different. And, to further compound this problem, fairer-skinned Raza join in on the oppression of the black Raza especially on those occassions where economic competetion is paramount. The resultant anomie is deadly. Coping mechanisms like drinking, drug taking and increased suicide rates are manifestations of Raza reaction to the pain. The humiliation and loss of dignity is little understood by the dominant culture.

The model assumes that after a community develops anomie it will not be able to have imput in social policy development or decision-maming arenas, therefore, no impact on social problems.

A Synthesis of the Causal Model and Cultural Pgases

An organizer attempting to assess the level of consciousness a barrio has has to deal with the correlation between the cultural phases and the various stages of leadership development he may find within the community. The task is further compounded when one

realizes that the causal relationships may cross from Path A to B and back. But, an organizer cognizant of the causal relationships and their inter-correlations coupled with the cultural phases may be able to intervene and mobilize the community from several points: for example, the community may be assessed as being apathetic, but after interviews and observations, the organizer may learn that the apathy was due to a failure in a political effort possibly against the board of supervisors or the police department, or, the barrio had been passed up for certain funds. These events will be indicators to the organizer that there exists a leadership within the community that may be tapped at some point in the future when intervention is more conducive to success because the organizer has helped to socialize the people against their feelings of apathy. Likewise, the assessment of the barrio's cultural phase will also serve as an indicator to the organizer because it may suggest that he relate to the elders in the community, or, because the community is at Phase II, it may be necessary to speak to the people bilingually -- Spanish for the older citizens and English for the youths. Having an appreciative posture, the organizer will know how and why he should respect the folk arts, and why he possibly should not come in with a politically radical perspective when there may be many people that are living there illegally and any exposure may cause them to be deported. These analyses of the community's' pulse-beat earn the organizer respect and soon he will begin identifying patterns of leadership within the community.

Figure 2 makes some assumptions about Raza communities. It assumes that Phase I communities because of their close ties to their home countries will be very difficult to mobilize against social injustice. There are a myriad of reasons for this: they are mono-lingual and therefore easily intimidated about the idea of dealing with English-speaking institutions, their hearts are in their home countries and they may view their tenure in the United States as but a brief visit and therefore wish not to get involved, or, as has been the experience of the writer, they are so grateful to be in the United States that -- even though they are suffering injustices -- they are willing to live with their lot for it is still better than what they experienced at home. Phase II, bi-lingual and bicultural transition stage assumes that there is a definite move towards eliminating disenfranchisement and being self determined. The cultural accomodation makes the involvements of the people that much more comfortable, and the better employed develop a more positive attitude towards the dominant country. Phase III is conceptualized as being the most efficacious phase for the mobilization of people against problem areas, although the problems identified by the organizer and the community are usually not in the same vein. Ironically, this phase contains the most number of candidates for leadership, but their socialization being what it is, causes them to be leaders but not necessarily for the Raza community. Their socialization has been such throughout generations possibly, that they have a perspective that does not necessarily focus in on the Raza. Their participation may be a purely singular motive having very little to do with a community effort.

	Community Sociotherapy	Empowerment	Leadership Development	Political Participation	Input in Social Policy Development	Input in Decision-Making Arenas	Impact on Social Problems
Phase I Cultural Homogeneity	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Phase II Cultural Transition	Yes	Yes,	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
Phase III Cultural Heterobeneity and Acculturation	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Figure 2

Action Possibilities Between the Cultural Phases and Path A Variables

Figure 2 should not be interpreted to suggest that only through cultural accomodation and acculturation can Raza people have their demands met. No. The schema shows us that the more culturally homogenious a population is, the more difficult a time it will have in having its grievances heard because of its limitations in knowing how to develop strategies against a dominant culture. What it does say is that the community organizer -- upon identify-

ing the level of consciousness in the community -- can begin to take action with those considerations in mind and, thereby, be aware not only of the limited success of his strategies, but also the level to which a group is willing to commit and extend itself. One of the inexorable forces used against people of a different color and culture in the United States is that of accomodation, acculturation and, for the fair-skinned, assimilation. What is ignored, and a testament to the myth of the melting pot and a re-emphasis of cultural pluralism is the awareness that Raza people cannot assimilitate because of their darker skin color -- even if they wished to.

Conclusions

It is hoped that the conceptualizations of cultural phases and the causal model may begin to give organizers and community social workers a perspective that will permit them to better assess barrios' imputs and outputs and the most efficacious place to develop intervention strategies. It has been established that communities' sense of autonomy influence their consciousness and sense of direction. The development of an analytical handle on such Raza communities cannot but help an organizer in his assessment, identification of leadership and their potential for impacting social problem areas through viable social policies.

Notes and References

[1] There is more and more lierature coming out on the subject of Raza problems from a psychological, social, economic and political point of view. My tempetation is to mention some books, but I have to resist it for, by mentioning some works, I would be ignoring other works that are as significant. An investigation of library archives and card catalogs will reveal a rich list of references.

[2] The term Raza is being used generically to include anyone of a Latin-American, or Hispanic origin -- that is, any country in the Western Hemisphere that is Spanish-speaking.

[3] See Glenn D. Paige, Editor, Political Leadership (New York: The Free Press, 1972), pp. 69-81.

[4] Allison Davis, "Light from Anthropology on Intercultural Relations," in Conference in Educational Problems of Special Cultural Groups and Human Relations (New York, Columbia University Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, 1951) p. 77.

[5] Antonia Pantoja, Wilhelmina Perry and Barbara Blourock, "Towards the Development of Theory: Cultural Pluralism Redefined," unpublished manuscript as of this date.

[6] See Ferdinand Tonnes' Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft as explicated by R.N. Nisbet in his The Sociological Imagination (New York: Basics Books, 1966), pp. 76-77.

[7] In Latin America the "bleaching" process predominantes. See H. Hoeting, "Race and Colonial Psychology," Journal of Economic History (1961), p. 640; Juan Rodriguez Cruz, "Las Relaciones Raciales en Puerto Rico," Revista de Ciencias Sociales (University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras, 1969); Alicia Jivanska, "El Concepto del Indigena en dos Distantes Regiones de México" América Indígena, Vol. XXIII (1963); George L. Blankstein "Latin America" The Politics of Developing Areas, Ed. by Almond and Coleman (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960).

[8] Gaitano Mosca, The Ruling Class, trans. Hammich D. Kahn (New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1939), p. 50.

[9] Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., and Ann B. Blalock, Methodology in Social Research (New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1968), pp. 161-162.

[10] Ibid.

[11]Martin Rein, Social Policy Issues of Choice and Change, (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 292.

[12]See Robert Dahl's "The Concept of Power," Behaviorial Science 2 (July, 1957), pp. 201-215, and "A Critique of the Ruling Elite Model," American Political Science Review 52 (July, 1958), pp. 463-469.

[13]See Robert S. Gilmour and Robert B. Lamb, Political Alienation in Contemporary America (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975), p. 5.